

Or, as a grave, rest has expressed it, these worshippers at the Southern shrine, while they renounced Northern constitutions, were

—like idiots gazing in a brook,
Who leap at stars, and listen in the mud.
I cannot stop to enumerate the victims in detail. The slain heroes may have a monument, and be remembered; but it is the felicity of the vulgar herd, in an ungodly contest, that they rot in a forgotten grave.

Long before the Baltimore Convention met, we had supposed that the Northern Democratic aspirants for the Presidency had done their worst; that they had drunk the last drops of the cup of humiliation. But Southern genius seems exhaustless in resources for Northern debasement. Some unknown political upstart in Richmond, (Virginia), obtained himself into notice by shouting out the two words, "Fugitive Slave Law." "Fugitive Slave Law," to all the candidates, and, instantly, thirteen of them were at his feet. He put to them some "more last questions" in the catechism of infamy; whether, if they should be elected, they would veto any bill repealing the Fugitive Slave Law, and so forth. All answered as his questions indicated they must. Forgotten the nature of the violation of the whole spirit of our government for the Executive to interfere with Congress, by telling them beforehand what acts of theirs he will not approve, they all hastened to give the desired response. He did not send them a pro-slavery creed, with a blank left for their signatures, but he compelled them to write on his tablet, who have signed their own hands to the collar and chains all ready for them to put on; but he said, "forgive them and rattle them on yourselves; and, submissive, they forged them and riveted them on, and expressed gratitude for the favor.

And now, where are those thirteen Democratic candidates? And where, too, are those Whig candidates, who, within the last two years, have done every conceivable thing, and a thousand things before inconceivable, to propagate the slave power? Gone, sir; all gone, with those who perished at Tyburn! They rebelled against humanity and against God, and verily they have their reward. They mounted a platform, where they hoped to be crowned with a laurel wreath; but an avenging Nemesis stood there, and, in the twinkling of an eye, clung it into the "drop platform" of the executioner. Sir, when a single manufacturer receives at the hands of justice his well-merited doom, the moralist seizes the example to give a warning to others who may be tempted, in like cases, to offend. He points to the luminous body of his victim, as the herald of God, he proclaims the eternal law, that crime never compensates the criminal. He declares that, until finite man can overpower or circumvent the infinite Creator, the retributions of sin shall pursue the sinner. If the preacher does this when he has but a single victim for a text, what an accumulation of energy and emphasis is given to his admonitions when there are fifteen victims before him!

Now, there are two or three general observations on this impressive spectacle, which I wish to make. In the first place, all the leading candidates of both Conventions were Northern men. Would not the historian have signified the event as something most extraordinary, if fifteen Southern champions of slavery, born and bred in its midst, who have grown up with and mental, had been only the accretion of pro-slavery parties and ideas, and who were committed to the institution by a life-long series of acts, had suddenly gone over to Northern Free Soilers, and offered to stand upon their platform to obtain their votes? Would it have at all diminished the marvel, if these fifteen Southern aspirants for Northern support, with all the following of slaves, of power or of money could enlist, had gone through all the South vouchsafing that, unless they should adopt the Free Soil platform, the Union would be dissolved? I think such a chapter in history would never cease to create amazement and wonder. Is it not infinitely more wonderful, in this age of the world, that Northern men should do so many things we could never expect, at one time, so many Southern men to do even for freedom?

My second remark pertains to the number of the candidates. Never were there even half so many on the Presidential race-course before. Now, why were they so numerous, as well as all from the North? The answer is obvious. The South had said again and again, and most explicitly to the North, "Give us your most pro-slavery man, and we will adopt him." It is easy to see that when moral, or even intellectual, qualifications are the test, in choosing a President, the candidates must be few; but, if devotion to slavery is the sole test, then there may not only be fifteen, but five hundred, or five thousand!—In this way the contest of the Northern candidates, that the chances of success were worth nothing—Nobody will pay much for a lottery-ticket, when the blanks are to the prizes a hundred to one. It was a poor speculation for the presidential aspirants to put the price of the office so low that anybody, however obscure before, could become a rival. Cass, Buchanan, Marcy, Douglas, Fillmore, Dickinson, &c., should have thought of this before they entered the lists, and put themselves on an equality with a man whom not one in five thousand out of New Hampshire could remember ever to have heard of before, and yet who plucked the prize out of their hands.

Another remark is, that the Southern vote, in both Conventions, could have been concentrated at any time upon either one of the Northern candidates, with one remarkable exception—which I will mention by and by—provided only that the Northern men could have united upon him. At any moment, the South would have accepted Gen. Cass, or Mr. Buchanan, or Gov. Marcy. In the Whig Convention, the South was most anxious to take Mr. Fillmore; but it was impossible to bring the North to his support. Each of them, by the way, had signed the Richmond Scott letter, and yet it is a curious fact, that would have received the Baltimore nomination. Some other man would have been chosen for the occasion. Not knowledge of him, but ignorance of his sacred his nomination.

[A VOICE. How of Gen. Scott?] Mr. MANN. Had Gen. Scott devoted himself to the cause of slavery for the last two years, as his competitors had done, he would not have been nominated. His short-comings in that inquiry, as every body knows, is the reason, and I might almost say, the sole reason, why the South and the pro-slavery South would prefer him before either of his rivals.

In regard to Mr. Webster, there are three points which I propose to elucidate—his position of special and marked hostility to slavery in 1848, what he did for the cause of slavery in 1850, and how the South required him in 1852. His case is peculiarly impressive. Instructive warnings as all the others are, yet "the Secretary stands alone." I am about to speak of his downfall in no spirit of personal exaltation, though he has done the greatest wrong. Because, when sitting on the top of his political Olympus, he hurled his shafts at me, I scorn to retaliate when he lies deserted and despairing at its base. The man does not live, (unless now he is himself), who felt a more poignant grief at his ruin than was felt in this heart of mine. But it was not on the 21st of June last, and not before that, that he fell; but on the 7th of March, 1850, in the Senate of the United States. It was then that he sunk his beaming forehead in the dust, over again, I fear, to be lifted up. It was then that he tore from his brow the glorious diadem of fame, and cast his clustered stars away—a dissonant richer than ever blazed upon the brow of royalty, for its gems were not gathered from rock or mine, but from the more precious treasures of wisdom and eloquence. Then thousands of hearts were wrung with anguish, as cold, relentless, and blasphemous, those apostate doctors fell from his lips. I say no bosom, save now perhaps his own, was ever more deeply saddened at the spectacle of that moral ruin, than mine. As I think of him now, ever-recurring and dirge-like, do the elegiac stanzas, written for the occasion by the great

Poet of Humanity, wake their mournful echoes in my breast:

"So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
Which once he wore!
The glory from his gray hairs gone
Forevermore!
Rejoice him not—the Tempter hath
A snare for all;
And crying tears, not scorn and wrath,
Befit his fall!
Oh! dumb be passion's stormy rage,
When he has fallen;
Have lighted up and led his age,
Falls back in night.
Scorn! would the angels laugh, to mark
A bright soul driven
Fiend-goaded down the endless dark,
From hope and heaven!
Let not the land, once proud of him,
Insult him now,
Nor brand with deeper shame his dim,
Dishonored brow.
But let his humbled sons, instead,
From sea to lake,
A long lament, as for the dead,
In sadness make.
Of all we loved and honored, naught
Save power remains—
A fallen angel's pride of thought,
Still rising in chains.
All else is gone: from those great eyes
The soul has fled;
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead.
Then, pay the reverence of old days
To his dead fame;
Walked backward with, averted gaze,
And hide his shame!"

Still, I should leave this part of my subject unnamed and incomplete, should I fail to draw the more of which the fate of this eminent man so impressively touches. In the history of this world, it is inexpressibly sad that offences should come, it is still more sad if we could not use them to warn others from offending. Besides, the drama, in one of whose scenes we were brought together upon the stage and enacted a part, has now been played out, and I am now able to establish by history all the necessary facts maintained by argument.

The grandeur of Mr. Webster's intellect—the first point always made in his defence—I readily admit. On this point I give his friends carte blanche of concession and agreement—the whole argument of his own way.

But, on the next point, I claim to have the whole concession and argument on my way:—that though his intellect were fitted to fill a "Dome of Thought," vast as one of those Egyptian statues that have been lately found on the banks of the Nile, from whose carvings the native have long been in the habit of cutting mill-stones without sensibly diminishing their bulk, yet if he could exchange it all to blot out the history of the 7th of March speech, he would make a divine revelation.

For proof of this, I might cite volumes. I might refer to his pilgrim address at Plymouth, and his reply to Col. Hayne, and select something from almost every page of those volumes of eloquence—beautiful as painting, and grand as statuary—whose appeals fell upon men's hearts like an affatus of the spirit of God. With all this, I might then contrast what has been written and spoken since the day of his downfall, pictorial as it is, with emblems of whips and chains, of auction-blocks, and shrieking fugitives, fleeing from the bloody lash and the lecher's arms, and finding no protection in the sanctuary of Faneuil Hall, or under the shadow of Banker Hill, or by the sacred monuments of Lexington and Concord.

But I will confine myself to a single item of proof, prefragrant and conclusive:—The Buffalo Convention of 1848, proclaimed its determination "to maintain the rights of free labor against the aggression of the slave power, and to secure free soil for a free people." It declared its "independence of the slave power, and its fixed determination to rescue the Federal Government from its control."

It declared that the provision of Jefferson to prohibit slavery in all the territories, and the ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from the North Western Territory, "clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation, not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the government ought to return."

It declared that the provision of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery, wherever that Government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence.

It declared that the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an act of Congress.

It declared that we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave territories, our calm but final answer is, no more slave States—no more slave territory.

And what did Mr. Webster say of this platform, within one month after it had been adopted? This is his language:—
"I have said, gentlemen, that in this Buffalo platform, the clearest and most explicit school, is nothing new. There is nothing in it that all the Whigs of the northern and middle States may not adopt. Gentlemen, it is well known that there is nothing in this Buffalo platform which, in general, does not meet the approval of all the Whigs of the middle and the North. It is a platform which all of us who are Whigs should go to and take the Free Soil party, what would be the result? Why, so far nothing would happen, but that the Whig party would have changed name. That would be all. Instead of being the Whig party, it would be the Free Soil party. We should be all there, exactly upon the same principles upon which we have always stood."

Now, contrast this full, explicit, comprehensive, and apparently ingenious subscription and adhesion to all the doctrines and articles of the Buffalo platform, in 1848, with the 7th of March speech in 1850, and with all that has since followed it from the same source.

Surely, if General Jackson, in 1836, in order to obtain a third election, had courted, through the United States Bank, written and spoken through all the Eastern cities in its behalf, and made James Watson Webb and Nicholas Biddle his bosom confidants and counselors; surely, if Mr. Clay, in 1848, had declared for free trade, against all tariffs, against the tariff for improvements, and against all policy that had been suggested by the Free Soil party, during the controversy respecting the Territories, had suddenly avowed himself the disciple of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and had raised the standard of "immediate emancipation,"—surely, I say, neither of these events would have furnished such a complete and complete contradiction and amazement as is supplied by the melancholy case I am now considering. After having nobly and bravely stood for Northern anti-slavery sentiment for thirty years; after having claimed the "patented thunder" of the Wilnot proviso; and after having disclaimed the North star, in a single day, without premonition or cause of change, Mr. Webster espouses doctrines more Southern than South Carolina, and becomes Calhouner than Mr. Calhoun.

Where shall the searcher of history find a parallel for this? I know of none. I can conceive but one—that of Moses, from the confines of Jordan, and the top of Pisgah, commanding the children of Israel to march back into the land of Egypt, for re-subjugation to Pharaoh; yet striving to persuade them that the "geography" of the Nile would render slavery there impossible.

And yet, when the trial-hour of the Baltimore Convention came, what did he gain by it all? A single Southern State? Not one. A single delegate from a Southern State? Not one. With all the efforts that official power, and the wealth of cities, and amazing industry could make; with all the subscription, the denunciations, and the Wall street, and State street, and subsidized presses, fraudulent hopes of tariff and Southern trade could effect, Mr. Webster could rally but an average of twenty-nine votes in a Convention of almost three hundred members, on any balloting, according to the political thermometer, measured his popularity, did he rise above thirty-two degrees—above the point of eternal congelation! No Southern State gave him a vote! No Southern delegate was sent there to give him a vote. Fifty-three opportunities occurred, extending from day to day, and according to the account published in the Boston Courier, from a professed eye-witness of the scene, the Northern friends of

Mr. Webster besought their Southern brethren with prayers and entreaties, and with tearful enough to have melted frost, to vote for the platform, to have melted anything but the inflexible ice of Southern prejudice, and yet they were inexorable. Nay, according to the published statement of his friend, Doctor Bell, a delegate from the Fourth Congressional District of Massachusetts, after the fifty-second ballot, and when it became certain that Gen. Scott would be nominated the next time, the Southern gentlemen "were earnestly appealing to a matter of course, to place our candidate (Mr. Webster) right [wrong?] on the page of history, to unite in the final vote on Mr. Webster, which would have left him with some one hundred and twenty or thirty votes"—they refused to give him even that empty compliment.

So certain has been the fate of Mr. Webster, for the last light of his Southern friends, and all those who have been politically associated, have foreseen it, and predicted it with as much confidence as an astronomer foretells an eclipse. Let us trust that the fate of such victims will not be lost for the future upon the Northern men.

Sir, out of this Fugitive Slave Law has arisen an ill-sounding, but a very true word, to express the most serious idea which has entered my mind, repeated or modified. It is the word "Finality." This word has already got into somewhat common use in regard to its objects. It is destined to get into universal use in regard to its authors. I think General Cass and Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster, with many others, have by this time acquired a reputation for "finality" in the world "finality" means. Though too late for them to profit by it, I hope it will be blessed to the use of others.

And what, gentlemen, what pretext, what subterfuge even, had these men for such betrayal of human rights? Nothing, literally nothing, but that fraudulent idea of "danger to the Union," that cry of "volatility" which the South has raised since she has ceased to accomplish, and which she always continues to raise, on pretences more and more shadowy and evanescent, the more we have the folly to heed it. The same threat is now, at this instant time, made, if the North does not give them their choice in the two candidates for the Presidency.

Among redundant proofs, demonstrating that there are two which never have been answered, never can be answered. Notwithstanding all that was done in this House, and more especially in the Senate, and by all the pro-slavery presses and pro-slavery champions, North and South, during the year 1850, to create a panic in behalf of the Union, they were never able to effect the price of United States stock, neither in issue, nor in demand, and the difference could be discovered with a microscope. Now, of all men living, stockholders and annuitants are the most sensitive. Universally they are a timid race. If there be a cloud in the heavens, or a ripple on the surface, they fear wreck, and shout the alarm. But timid as they constitute, are not politicians nor panic-makers could discern the crumbling of the Union to pieces; and there was not a member of the Castle Garden committee who would have taken one cent less, or would not have given every cent as much, for United States securities on the days when they sent forth their fraudulent resolves, as before or after.

At this point I will cite an authority whose soundness upon these issues is beyond question, and certainly my opponents will not dispute:—
"We have preserved and fostered credit till it has become interested in its further extension, and preservation. It has run deep and wide into our whole system of social life. Every man feels the vibration when a blow is struck upon it. And this is the reason why nobody has escaped the influence of the South. The Whig and the Democrat are alike, sensitive, easily wounded, and more easily alarmed, it is also infinitely ramified, diversified, extending everywhere, and touching everything."

And yet the very men who, in their capacity of politicians, shriek "danger to the Union," in their other capacity of stock-dealers and merchants, never varied their asking or their giving prices one jot or tittle. They cried "earthquake," when not a rumble could be heard, nor a jar felt; and they would make us believe that the earthquake was nothing but the tremor when nobody could see a leaf on a tree moving. No! the cry of danger to the Union was raised to divert the attention from their assaults upon the Constitution. It was the latter and not the former that was in danger.

Another reason, and it is a standing and continuing cause, is the fact that the South, according to its own estimate, are under bonds of \$1,500,000,000 to keep the peace. Let them break up this Union, and their property in slaves, which they now value at this enormous sum, will not, at the end of a quarter of a century, be worth so many groats. Does anybody imagine that this Union can be dissolved without the greatest loss to the South? And in such a war, who will be the eager allies of the North? Sir, there are ten thousand fugitive slaves in Canada to-day, capable of bearing arms, and their number is increasing faster than ever. They are practising the use of fire-arms, and the manœuvres of the horse.

The story of their oppressions is recounted every day in every household, and every free-school, and every mother nurses their children with milk and with vengeance together. The knowledge of a North star is penetrating further and further into the Southern interior, and arousing new hearts to the effort of self-emancipation. A dissolution of the Union reverts the accused act of 1850. The free soil of the plantation, in every bush and every free-school, and every mother nurses their children with milk and with vengeance together. The knowledge of a North star is penetrating further and further into the Southern interior, and arousing new hearts to the effort of self-emancipation. A dissolution of the Union reverts the accused act of 1850. The free soil of the plantation, in every bush and every free-school, and every mother nurses their children with milk and with vengeance together. 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For the Liberator.

LITTLE EVA.

BY W. MILNE.

Sweet as a flower fair of spring,
The lovely little Eva grew,
And blithe as woodland on the wing,
The loves and graces round her drew.

The fragrant, balmy-laden breeze,
That softly fans the sunny South,
Through clustering groves of orange trees,
Blew gently on her tender youth.

And still more beautiful she grew,
And bright, but delicate, as fair;
In her deep eyes of heavenly blue,
An angel's look of love was there.

A winning warmth of holy love
Beamed in the sweetness of her smile,
As if a seraph from above
Had stooped to visit earth awhile.

And as she lingered here below,
Her sister seraphs seemed to say,
'Dear Eva, leave this world of woe!
Sweet sister angel, come away!'

Her mission was a glorious one,
To nature true in all its parts;
On God's inimitable plan,
To sooth and soften human hearts.

To woo away from scenes of sin,
To point men upward to the skies,
To love and truth their hearts to win,
And help them from the dust to rise.

The little messenger of love,
Her heavenly mission well fulfilled,
Rejoicing, soared to bliss above;
Even so her heavenly Father willed.

But many a stern eye shall yet
Be dimmed and wet with honest tears,
And softened hearts shall quicker beat
Where Eva's thrilling tale appears.

On mother earth's maternal breast,
Beneath the verdant, flowery sod,
Her fragile form is laid to rest,
Her spotless spirit lives with God.

From the New York Reformer.

THE AMERICAN DRAGO.

I saw a bloody crown throne,
Upstream in Mammon's sterile plain,
Oppression laid the corner-stone,
And wrought his iron law in chains;
The crimsoned drapery hung around,
A product of the infernal loom,
That tore a million shrieking hearts,
And, from the tender strings they formed,
Wove round their souls, a rayless doom.

I looked, and heard the shackles clank
Upon the slave's abraded limb,
And earth the crimson current drank,
While Hope's fair star grew pale and dim;
Chains that corroded grew with tears,
Borne through the circle of his years,
Were duller for the rust they bore,
As oft he wept and turned them o'er.

The tyrant spoke, and round his seat
The millions stooped with trembling fears,
While ever pressing at his feet,
They bathed them with unnumbered tears;
He spoke, and words of giant size
Were borne upon the horrent blast,
That burned with ire as it passed,
And sought a holier clime to win.

He sat, and with sardonic leer
Claimed tribute. 'E'en at freemen's hands
He sought to blight their uncured lands,
And leave them like his empire dear.
While millions of a darker tan
Woke up at dawn to meet the sun,
The shaded brotherhood of man,
Whose hue a darker doom had won;
And ere the day had closed, the ties
Of countless hearts were snapped in twain,
And from the wide, far-spreading plain
There woke a million startling cries.

The father, parted from his son,
Said, 'Let me die—my race is run!
While mothers, in their bondage tears,
Wailed with a mother's long despair.

In the broad light of day he sold
Fair women for a chosen price,
And laughed at sin's refined device
To measure virtue out for gold!
Beneath the sun's unclouded light,
They kept the cursed mart's confines,
Where Freedom's temples stand in sight,
And knowledge with her glory shines;
Where freemen to their Mecca tend,
Where Truth and Love their spirit send—
Where life in Death's sublime repose
The ashes of THE GREAT, THE GOOD,
Whose life was deeds, that at its close
In bright array immortal stood—
Where kneel the pure at holy time,
And Sabbath bells peal out their chime.

Oh, Thou Eternal One! whose eye
Pervades all depths, surveys all spheres,
Behold thy shadowed image lie
Oppressed with bonds and hopeless years.
In the deep counsels of thy will,
In the vast fullness of thy law,
Speak, and the earth with bliss shall fill,
Like that creation's morning sun;
Send down thy fire, and iron chains
Shall holy love transmute to gold,
And o'er the barren, bloody plains,
Shall Freedom's triumph car be rolled;
And Light shall reach the darkest mind,
Resolving Hope in Night's abyss,
While Glory infinite shall blind
Earth ripening in autumnal bliss!

TRIFLES.

A cloud may intercept the sun,
A web, by insect workers spun,
Preserve the life within the frame,
Or vapor to the way the same.
A grain of sand upon the sight
May rob a giant of his might!
Or needle point let out the breath,
And make a banquet-meal for Death.

How often, at a single word,
The heart with agony is stirred,
And ties that years could not have riven,
Are scattered to the winds of heaven;
A glance, that looks what lips would speak,
Will speed the pulse, and blanch the cheek;
And thoughts, nor looked, nor yet expressed,
Create a chaos in the breast.

A smile of hope from those who love
May be an angel from above;
A whispered welcome in our ears
Be as the music of the spheres;
The pressure of a gentle hand
Worth all that glitters in the land;
Oh! trifles are not what they are,
But fortune's ruling voice and star.

The Liberator.

THE BIBLE QUESTION.

MR. GARRISON:

EXTREMED FRIEND—We ask the privilege of occupying a space in your columns, for the purpose of making some remarks on two communications, purporting to be from the pen of Joseph Barker; the first of which appeared in the Liberator, April 23d, and the second, May 14th. In his first communication, he declares his determination to devote his special labors, as long as he lives, to the overthrow of the opinion of the Divine authority of the scriptures, representing them as having the most contaminating influence, both Old and New Testaments, and that the world cannot be reformed without previously overthrowing the doctrine of the Divine authority of the Jewish and Christian scriptures. He represents the scriptures as sanctioning all kinds of oppression, as the chief support of domestic slavery. He represents the principal arguments to support the Fugitive Slave Law as coming from the Bible.

Joseph Barker would have his readers believe, that all who believe the Bible to be the word of God, believe they should obey the Fugitive Slave Law. He says, 'the Bible enjoins us to obey the laws of the land, the commands of the government under which we live,' and by a zig zag, sophistical manner of reasoning, he labors to impress his readers with a belief that the scriptures enjoin this without limitation, that is, they are to obey all laws decreed by the government under which they live, be they right or wrong. Neither the latter nor the former of these objections is true.

It is manifestly a misrepresentation to say, that all believers in the Bible are in favor of the Fugitive Slave Law. Joshua R. Giddings is a Bible man—he is his advocate? The Fugitive Slave Law so palpably violates the precepts of both the Old and New Testaments, that we question much whether there is one well informed, disinterested believer in the Bible, who thinks it right to obey it. It is a waste of time to argue what Bible men do. The question is, what does the Bible say? All know, that the principal arguments against this wicked law are taken from the Bible. Where is the higher law to be found, which is appealed to as the final arbiter, but in the Bible? Suppose we had no Bible, where would we find the higher law? Is there any other method that could be devised, better calculated to impress the minds of the commonality of mankind of the wickedness of this law, than that which is recorded in the Bible? There is no such folly and wickedness taught in the Bible, in any place, as that if an evil law is decreed by the civil powers, that sanctifies and justifies the doing of the evil.

Those who have been truly believers in the Bible, and obedient to its requisitions, have in all ages considered it an all-important doctrine, if man's law comes in competition with God's, to obey God rather than man, let man be clothed with authority of whatever name. That this was their practice as well as their theory, let the engines of death bear testimony. The gallows, the gibbet, the stake, the rack or the cross, had no power to deter them from their purpose of obeying God rather than man. This is incontrovertible testimony, and settles the matter. Doctors Dewey and Barker to the contrary notwithstanding. Did Paul, the author of the objectionable portion of scripture, tell them to do what was wrong, in subjection to the civil powers? He tells them to be afraid of the civil powers if they did evil, but do that which is good, and they should have praise of the same. Romans 13. This was the kind of obedience they were to give to the civil powers—do good, and refrain from evil. Paul's example is a commentary on his meaning; actions speak louder than words. From the time he first became a Christian to the day of his martyrdom, he set an example—not to do wrong in obedience to the civil powers. He was frequently imprisoned and maltreated by them, and ultimately suffered martyrdom at their hands, in confirmation of the doctrine of obeying God rather than man. A few pro-slavery divines, who wish to pandor to a corrupt public sentiment, in order to gain popularity and distinction from those in high places, for their patriotism, have represented it as a scriptural duty to obey the Fugitive Slave Law, because it has been decreed by the 'powers that be,' without questioning its character, whether it is good or evil, and have spoken, and written, and preached, in behalf of this doctrine. What matters it what the Gannets, or Deweys, or Sturges and Springs say? their sayings, or preachings, or writings, are not scripture. We are to judge their productions by the scriptures, not the scriptures by their sayings, or writings, or preachings. These are pseudo-Bible men, who have slandered the Bible, and make take their stand with anti-Bible men. Jesus Christ and his Apostles represented as sanctioning the Fugitive Slave Law!!! Christ most emphatically condemned the Fugitive Slave Law, and annexed the most appalling penalty to its observance: 'For I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not. Depart from me, ye cursed, &c. &c. And Paul, in his own person, set an example, that it was right to escape from oppression, II. Cor. 11: 32, 33.

It is obvious that Joseph Barker views the scriptures through a perverted medium. Their contaminating effects are chimeras of his own imagination; and if he would ever succeed in convincing men that they are sheer fabrications, it would work no reformation upon them. This was tested by the French revolutionists, who acted like demons. But we will make Joseph Barker himself the example. We have the outlines of his character detailed by himself, in his letter to a friend, which we have at present under review. It embraces the essential features of the moral and intellectual man, both in his state of belief and unbelief, in the inspiration of the Bible. He has been especially particular in speaking of himself; he has used the personal pronoun in reference to himself upwards of one hundred and eighty times, if we are correct, in a little more than two columns of large print. Every thing relating to some individuals, who are great benefactors of mankind, is highly interesting. It must have been satisfactory to his friend, and the readers of the Liberator generally, to know his opinions, and reasonings, and prospects, and plans of operation, and the changes his opinions have undergone, and are undergoing; and it has enabled us to judge of the effects of those changes on the man. From his own statement, he was just as good a man, when he was a believer in the authenticity of Divine revelation, as he is at the present time, and perhaps a little better. We judge of his former belief from the position he then occupied, (a minister of Jesus Christ, or, according to his vocabulary, a 'sectarian priest,' a member of a denomination of Christians recognized as evangelical.

At the present time, he reports no progress, but seems not to be confident that he retains his former desire to serve mankind, as he had at the beginning of his career, when he was in the state of belief. And his history also shows, that a belief in the Divine authority of the Bible is not corrupting; not even the basest of all positions, a 'sectarian priest.' May we not conclude, that the good life and exemplary conduct of Joseph Barker, as reported by himself, are to be attributed to habits of virtue, which he had formed in his early days, when he was a believer in the Bible? He had learned from the Bible, that to love God supremely, and his neighbor as himself, were the precepts to direct him through life. The good Old Book says, 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it.'

J. B., in his second communication, announces a startling discovery; he anticipates an objection that will be raised against the necessity of abolishing the Bible, in order to obtain the abolition of slavery. Th-

objection is, that 'slavery was abolished in the British West India islands, without assailing the doctrine of the Divine authority of the scriptures.' He says: 'The bearing of the scriptures on the slavery question was not so well understood then. It had never been discovered till since West India emancipation, that the scriptures did justify slavery. Previous to that time, the Bible was regarded as opposed to slavery, and was employed as an instrument for its destruction.' Is it not a deplorable calamity, that ever its pro-slavery character had been discovered! This discovery, we suppose, will be placed to the credit of some pro-slavery, pro-Bible, and anti-Bible American divines. (Uncle Sam's boys are cute fellows, Mr. B. of course included: a brotherhood of profound expositors, who have jumped in judgment on the pro-slavery character of the Bible. What strange alliances are sometimes formed!) From what Mr. B. says, the Bible only is responsible for the continuance of slavery, for some period subsequent to West India emancipation. He has not told us the particular date, but it had not been discovered that it sanctions slavery until after that occurrence. It must have been infidelity that 'propelled slavery' previous to that period; and it was gross practical infidelity to hold on to slavery when they regarded the Bible as opposed to slavery. B's path is grievously beset with labyrinth!! Any person who can discover that Jesus Christ or his Apostles favor slaveholding, or the Fugitive Slave Law, either by precept or example, must be given up to strong delusion. What! the meek and lowly Jesus taxed with sanctioning slaveholding!! He who came into the world 'to preach deliverance to the captive,' to set at liberty them that are bruised; who came to 'minister, and not to be ministered unto,' and gave himself as an example to follow his steps; who forbids his followers to assume any thing like lordly authority, but if they wished to be great, let them be the servants. Because Christ and his Apostles did not expressly condemn slavery in as many words, therefore they were in favor of it! Most profound logic, truly!! Christ and his Apostles did not forbid making counter-feit money, but they spoke against fraud. Christ and his Apostles laid down fundamental principles, which would cut out slavery by the root, and condemn its constituent parts. The principles of liberty contained in the Constitution of the United States, if carried out, would forever exclude slavery, although it does not mention slavery. We will refer J. B. to Mr. Garrison's writings for scripture denunciations of slavery. He will there find a choice collection.

J. B. announces another tremendous discovery, made on the nefarious teachings of the Bible. It is discovered that the conduct of Joseph, related in Exodus, in impoverishing the people of Egypt, and converting them all into slaves, is given by the scriptures as an evidence of superior wisdom, and as a proof of supernatural illumination. This discovery, we think, must be placed to the credit of J. B. Unhappily for his credit, the discovery is like Paddy's flea—when you put your finger on it, it is not there. An invention may be placed to his credit, but not a discovery. There is not one word of approval, either expressed or implied, of the conduct of Joseph, in contracting with the Egyptians, when supplying them with grain from Pharaoh's store-houses, Gen. 47: 15-20; but directly the contrary. There was a particular statute enacted in the law of Moses, subsequent to this contract of Joseph's, forbidding such conduct as he was guilty of—Lev. 25: 35-37. Pharaoh speaks of Joseph as being discreet and wise, with reference to the wise, discreet, and laudable plan he had laid, for protecting the kingdom from the direful ravages of impending famine, and says, with reference to the interpretation of his dream, that God had showed it unto him—Gen. 41: 33, 39—but not one word said in approval of his conduct, respecting his contracting with the Egyptians. And if Pharaoh had approved of it, it makes no difference; he was a heathen king, and not an inspired person, appointed to reveal God's will. Joseph was not perfect, yet he was a wise, good, virtuous and amiable man, in all his vicissitudes of fortune. No doubt he thought he was acting honestly, when he contracted that Pharaoh should receive the fifth part of the product. A pretty favorable bargain for slaves. They were not slaves, Mr. B. It was no personal advantage to Joseph whatever; his kindred and posterity would be governed by the same regulation. The Egyptians were culpably improvident in not reserving food for themselves against the days of famine in the seven plentiful years. No doubt, infidelity in God's threatenings was the cause of their negligence. There has been a class of wise-aces, in all ages of the world, who have been too wise to be taught by their Maker.

Joseph throws light on what is denominated manifesting in Bible estimation. He says, (Gen. 40: 15.) 'I indeed, I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews.' Now we know that the Ishmaelites bought him from his brethren, Gen. 37: 28. Thus we see Joseph informs us that man-sellers and man-buyers, for the purpose of holding them as slaves, are manifesters, in scripture estimation.

J. B. says, 'That portions of the Bible are in favor of slavery I cannot doubt,'—says, 'I am not about to quote passages to prove all this: If I were a slaveholder, or a slaveholder's priest, I would feel no fear whatever of proving that slavery is a scriptural institution.' B. takes a shorter way in proving that slavery is a Bible institution, than quoting passages. He begs the question, and goes on to give the most odious characteristics of slavery, and argues stoutly against them, as though they were supported by the Bible. He says to slaveholders, 'It is in vain to tell us what Jewish or Christian books say about slavery; they are no authorities with us. Well may you have recourse to documents in Greek and Hebrew, in Syriac and Chaldee, for the light and the virtue of the present age are all against you.' Now, this is not honest, Mr. B., to take it for granted that you have proved that the scriptures justify these odious features of slavery, which you have named, when you have not even attempted to prove it, and which you nor any other man can prove, for it condemns every characteristic of slavery which you have mentioned. Now, Mr. B., come up with your proof, give us those passages of scripture which justify slaveholding. There are far better motives to impel you to show that the Bible justifies the 'sum of all villainies,' than you could have, 'were you a slaveholder, or a slaveholding priest.' You say, 'the prevailing nations respecting the Divine authority of the Bible help to prop up evil of almost every kind.' Nay, you say, 'it is impossible to cure men of gross evils which you enumerate, without changing their views respecting the Bible.' If you can show that the Bible justifies slavery, it would do much to invalidate its claim to Divine authority. Now, having such powerful motives to impel you to show that the Bible sanctions slavery, we ardently desire you to produce those pro-slavery passages. We think a work of this kind could be made both instructive and lucrative. There is a flattering prospect that it might rival 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' It would be an interesting part of history to inform us how father Abraham (whom you or some of the brotherhood have discovered to be a slaveholder) and mother Sarah managed to keep such a large family of slaves in subjection. It is related, that he at one time armed three hundred and eighteen men—Gen. 14: 14. Judging from this, his slaves must have been very numerous. It would be exemplary and entertaining to lady-slaveholders to tell of Sarah mounting her steed, armed cap-a-pie, to ride patrol alternately with her husband, surrounding their camp nightly to deter their slaves from insurrection, by such a tremendous array of armed force. Abraham was manifestly no slaveholder, but was the chief of a tribe, elevated to that position on account of his superior moral and intellectual qualifications. Abraham was without means to keep such a family of slaves in subjection. There is not one of B's slavery tests which would ap-

ply to Abraham and his servants. There is no evidence of their unhappiness. They had no disposition to escape, and when they went from home, they were in a 'great hurry to return.' We have an account of one being sent on a special errand by Abraham, (Gen. 24,) on a long journey, and a great amount of valuable property with him, and plenty of money in his pocket. This was a favorable opportunity for him to make his escape, if his situation had been uncomfortable. He was anxiously solicitous to have his business brought to a close, that he might be permitted to return. There is not one characteristic of slavery that B. has mentioned, either as it respects the master or the slave, that will apply to Abraham or his servants. So much for Abraham's slaveholding.

Let us hear about the Jews when they became organized in a national capacity; give us a copy of the pro-slavery compromises of their Constitution, and a copy of their stringent fugitive slave law. Excuse us for anticipating you; you will find their fugitive slave law recorded in Deut. 23: 15, 16. 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which has escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose; in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.' (This was Paul's authority for sending back Onesimus as a slave; you know Paul was a Jew.) We want you to give us the location of their slave mart—their scripture authority for selling men inscribed in glaring capitals over the auction-block. As we have the Bible at hand, we will take the liberty to supply you with the passage: 'He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death'—Exodus 21: 16. You remember Joseph explains what constitutes the crime of stealing a man, viz: buying him, or selling him for the purpose of holding him as a slave. Paul says, 'The law is for man-stealers,' or man-traders, or man-holders—1 Tim. 1: 10. We want one instance pointed out of any of the patriarchs or any of the Jews selling a slave, that is, lawfully, or any third person mentioned in any contract of the kind. Jewish servitude was manifestly a voluntary contract for an equivalent.

In our next, with Mr. Garrison's permission, we will notice Mr. Barker's unfounded charges against the Bible. ELIZABETH WILSON. Caliz, Ohio, Aug. 20, 1852.

STEAMBOAT DISCUSSION.

THE BIBLE—ITS RELATION TO HUMAN PROGRESS.

STEAMER SOUTHERNER, Lake Erie, } Aug. 11, 1852.

DEAR GARRISON: Suppose the Quakers should select certain letters and writings of Fox, Barclay, Penn, and of other early Friends: call a general council of Friends in New York; put all those compositions together; bind them up in one volume, and then put the question to vote—Shall this book be received as the word of God? A majority of the Convention decide in the affirmative, and, on the authority of that vote, they go forth with that book to present it to all as the only revelation of God to man, the only test of truth, and only infallible rule of faith and practice; and they proceed to denounce every man as a sinner, who dares to question the authority of that vote, to call in question any thing the book says is true, or to believe any thing false, which the book asserts to be true. They assert that every thing in that book is true and right, simply because it is in the book, and that every thing contrary to the book is false and wrong, because it is opposed to the book.

What would be said of the Quakers were they to do such a thing? They would be condemned as unjust, inhuman, tyrannical, insane or infamous. Yet exactly this thing have the Quakers, and every other sect in Christendom done, in regard to the Bible. Certain letters and writings, scattered over Asia, Africa and Europe, in the hands of individuals, were collected; a council called, of priests and rulers; a vote taken on the question—Shall these compositions be received as the word of God? The convention decided in the affirmative, and millions have been imprisoned, tortured and murdered, solely because they dared to dissent from the decision of that Council, and to give to that book a meaning different from that given by the popular priesthood.

But, suppose a Quaker, say T. Galbraith, of New Garden, Ohio, comes to you with that book, collected and passed upon by a Convention of Quakers as the word of God—presents you a copy, and says to you, 'Receive all this book contains as coming direct from God—question not the truth and inspiration of one word of it, or I will no longer walk with you, nor read nor sustain your paper.' T. G. tells you, if you even discuss the question of its divine authority, as a whole, in the Liberator, or allow others to do so, I will not read your paper nor allow it to come into my family. Suppose you ask him, 'What evidence have you that this book is all of God?' T. G. answers, 'I have the witness in myself that it is all of God. Besides, a great Convention of Quakers decided it to be all true, and that God actually commanded and did, all that book attributes to him.' You say to him, 'Friend G., let me examine the book, and judge from its contents, whether it be true or false.' Suppose T. G. replies, 'Natural sagacity in the reasoning powers of man can know nothing of divine things.'

Here you are put down, at once, as one that is totally blind, and having nothing in your reasoning powers by which you know divine things. The works of God you know, but these are not 'divine things.' To know astronomy, botany, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, physiology, and the laws that govern the material and spirit universe, is not to know 'divine things'; but to know and believe all that is in the Quaker Bible, is to know and receive 'divine things.'

But you dare to open the book, and to bring its contents to the test of your own moral nature, and of your own sense of justice and equity. You find polygamy, concubinage and incest, sanctioned in that Quaker Bible. You find aggressive, exterminating wars, the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, and the giving-up of females taken in war, to satiate the brutal lusts of soldiers—all sanctioned by it. You find the hanging and drowning of witches, Sabbath-breakers, and disobedient children, expressly commanded in it, and the slaughter of children for the sins of their parents. You find that the Quakers are expressly commanded, by their Bible, to put to death, without mercy, all who differ from them in their ideas of God, and who would seek to persuade them to embrace other religious opinions than those contained in their holy book. Finally, suppose the book expressly asserts that George Fox had no human father, but was divinely begotten of God. All these, and many others like them, you find recorded in and sanctioned by the book. Through the Liberator, you say to T. G.,—who is supposed to present to you the book—I cannot believe that a God of justice, love, truth and purity, ever commanded or sanctioned such things.' But, says T. G., 'I have the witness in myself that he did.' 'I have not, and never wish to have,' in your answer. 'Such atrocious cruelties, such prostitutions, and such monstrous, unnatural stories never were and never can be, in accordance with justice, goodness and truth.' 'Well,' says T. G., 'I will have nothing to do with a paper, that allows the truth and divine authority of one single passage of the Quaker Bible to be called in question.'

Such is the claim set up for the Bible by the Christian world. It came into being, as a book, exactly as the supposed Quaker Bible did; it is received, as the word of God, because a Council of priests and politicians voted it should be so received. Whatever the book condemns must be false and wrong; whatever it approves must be true and right. So says Christendom. The Quakers, generally, and all other sects, say, so far as we are concerned, the question of the absolute truth and inspiration of every thing in the Bible shall not be discussed. We have

'THE WITNESS IN OURSELVES' that polygamy, concubinage, incest, rapine, plunder, revenge, wrath, and wholesale butchery of men, women and children, as sanctioned in the Bible, are all right and approved of God. 'We ask no man whether the Bible accounts of Jonah, and the whale; of Samson, the foxes and firebrands; of the assassination of Sisera by Jael; or of Eglon by Ehud, be true, for we have the witness in ourselves, that they are all of God. We ask no man to tell us whether Jesus had a human father,—we know that he had not, because we have the witness in ourselves that he had not; and we will give no countenance to any paper that allows any of these things to be called into question in its columns.'

Dear Garrison—I am in the saloon of the steamer, passing over the smooth, glassy surface of Lake Erie, between Toledo and Cleveland. We have had an instructive, though pitiable scene. Two Quakers, three Presbyterians, one Methodist, and three Baptists, and myself. The Quakers had seen the letter of T. G., refusing to take the Liberator, because it allowed the discussion of the Bible question in its columns. Several of the company had read the letters of J. Barker and H. C. Wright, denying that slavery, war, or anything else was true or false, or right or wrong, simply because they are sanctioned or condemned by the Bible. They condemned the spirit of his letter, as unworthy a just, honest man; yet they insisted that no Christian could countenance a paper that allowed the truth and divine authority of the Bible to be questioned in its columns. They said that they were willing the Liberator should say any thing and every thing to prove that God actually approved of all the Bible says he did; but were not willing to sustain a man in uttering one word to prove that he did not. Is the Bible the word of God? They are willing the Liberator should support the affirmative; but, they say with T. G., if it says anything in support of the negative, we will not support it.

We know that the Bible, in every age, has been used by the Church and Clergy, its authorized exponents, to sanction every outrage on justice and humanity. Is anything true or false in principle, or right or wrong in practice, because it is sanctioned or condemned by the Bible? This question is forced upon us by the advocates of war and slavery. Shall the Liberator be sustained in a fair and full discussion of it? I can but hope it will. I have cost the Liberator many subscribers. How? I do sincerely believe the Bible, in some points of it, sanctions the darkest crimes and practices that ever darkened the records of our race. I have said this in the Liberator, and have shown that war and the death penalty, in their worst and most murderous forms, are sanctioned by that book. I cannot receive it all as God's truth. It is repulsive to the purest and most divine elements of my soul. So says Joseph Barker. We have both freely expressed our belief that the Bible has no power to authorize the perpetration of war, slavery, the death-penalty, or any other crime.

I am sorry, for his sake, that T. G. has rejected the Liberator because it admits articles that reject those parts of the Bible that sanction war, polygamy, concubinage, the death penalty, and other crimes and outrages against nature. If T. G., or any one else, dares to pleasure in personal allusions to myself, I hope they will make them freely. He may rest assured there will be no rejoinder. I have too little time left me to contend against great public wrongs to spend any of it in vindicating myself. If my life will not vindicate me, I must fall into condemnation. For one end I would labor, as far as the Bible is concerned, to show that nothing can be right because the Bible sanctions it; nothing wrong because it condemns it. To this I wish T. G. and all would direct their efforts. H. C. WRIGHT.

HENRY C. WRIGHT—NON-RESISTANCE.

LONDON, August, 1852.

I observe in a recent Liberator, that HENRY C. WRIGHT addresses a letter to me, dated Michigan, about one thousand miles in a direct line west of Boston. He must be so constantly on the wing, practising the go-ahead mode of travelling, that he has forgotten the difficulty with which snails travel. I thank him for his kind invitation, but I remind him of the thousand ills that flesh is heir to. I remind him, further, of 'sea-sickness,' and of his own account of his voyage here and back again, and of how little we citizens, who seldom quit our own island, are fitted to endure the fatigues of prairie travelling; and that I have arrived at an age, at which men are in the habit of measuring a ditch before they jump it, or, in other words, of looking at the probable consequences of their actions.

When I have thought of going to America, to look at 'Uncle Sam,' I have generally determined that I would go without letters of introduction, that I might see the young stalwart, form my own notions, and nurse my own fancies, and test my own crochets. I can then, too, travel when and how I like, and avoid swamps and corduroy roads, when my corpus is not in a state to bear the ups and downs of that merciless mode of travelling.

It is not impossible that some day, within the next three years, he or you may find me listening unreluctingly, though not assentingly, to non-resistance doctrines.

Mr. Wright says, if I were to see your deep and mighty forests, and pass over your inland seas, inhale their fresh and fragrant airs, and let my soul go and expand amid nature's mightiest and handiest work, I might then go back to the narrow streets and smoke of London, and lie down and say, 'Now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.'

He does not know that I shiver at the idea of travelling for days through woods and forests, and tremble at the thought of corduroy roads; and that, instead of my soul growing and expanding amongst them, I feel pretty sure that one night passed in a forest or a prairie would look me for departing, but I think not in peace; and that twelve hours' bumping on a corduroy road would effectually put an end to my travelling power.

I am quite prepared to believe the mental pain that must be inflicted upon those who travel in the States, in consequence of the existence of slavery, and the prejudice of color.

A distinction which exists in our theories is, I think, this: that while we both condemn slavery heartily and thoroughly, I am not so bitter as I infer from his language he is, against slave-owners; for instance, this is language which I could not use. He says:—'I am heart-sick. I cannot speak to you of our prairies, our forests, our rivers, lakes and mountains, nor of the energy or activity of our population, the boundless extent of our national domains, without shame and horror. Not a forest, deep and dark, not a cavern, not a mountain-top, not a river or lake, not a little spot is sacred to liberty.' Now I could, as I hope, speak of and admire the works of nature, notwithstanding the process of adaptation, which is the process of God in nature, as regards man, is not so far advanced in all men as I could desire, and have been made to wish. I know, or think I know, that the same God who made and opened my path and mission, as I am made to view it, has opened their path and their instrumentality, and that it is quite as well that I work on, speaking the truth, and acting it, as far as I am able, without bitterness to those who do not see with my eyes, because they have not read the same pages in the book of life, with the same eyes and the same state of faculties, nor been subject to the same influences that I have.

If I am right, and in the way of truth, it is quite certain they will be made to see the same thing in due time, and that that time will be more quickly brought about, in proportion as good and honest men are earnest, zealous and faithful and persevering in working out their own individualities.

Bear in mind, that the progress of this world, committed in part, to the individuals who inhabit it, that each has his own lamp given to him, and is charged with the duty of keeping it trimmed, and is to be ready, when called, to enter on an advanced state of being.

Let us not forget that our social duties are founded upon, and proceed from, an individual's responsibilities. Social arrangements are merely more effectual organizations for more effectively working out and executing these individualities, and are the process of adaptation from the lowest forms of existence up to the highest; and from the lowest stages of barbarism up to the most comprehensive sympathies.

When Henry C. Wright takes to littering letters, he appears to me often to take leave of his letters, and to expect the man to be before us, and to stand down the first slaveholder he meets.

I should be sorry, if, in these observations, I gave rise to the impression that I do not wish abolitionists to produce themselves; to be prominent; to be instant in season and earnest and faithful in bearing and in avoiding intercourse, as far as is possible, with slave-owners.

I know how difficult it is for those who have a horror of slavery to restrain themselves from running into ascribing; but it is the difficulty with which I am dealing with that difficulty that I am now meaning upon.

I write with great deference for Henry C. Wright's opinions upon these matters, for I know that men who confine themselves pretty well to one subject, in all probability have seen more of its relations, and understand it better than those who have only looked at it occasionally, as one part of their reading and thinking. EDWARD SEACH.



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